1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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464 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
178 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the total situation, have thrown the "picture" out of perspective and unwittingly distorted it.

Brazil is an enormous country; and, in spite of its culture being homogeneous to a surprising extent, considerable variation in historical, ecological, economic and sociological circumstance exists from region to region.[1] Moreover, the extensive changes which have taken place since this study was made increase some of the differences between various parts of the country. A sizeable internal migration has been occurring (cf. Vicente Unzer de Almeida and Octávio Teixeira Mendes Sobrinho, 1952), as individuals have left the rural areas and moved to the towns,[2] and from there, ordinarily later, in considerable numbers and including a high percentage of persons of color, to the larger cities, par-

[1] For one thing, the character and effects of slavery perhaps were not uniform, especially in the more isolated areas on the fringes of settlement, in contrast to the more settled areas, where the controls of public opinion and law were more effective. Little attention has been given to possible variations in the character of the personal relations developed during this period in the coastal plantation areas, with their probable higher degree of primary contacts, in contrast to the mining areas of the interior, with their perhaps more impersonal relations, and to the pastoral areas, where the opportunities for the escape of slaves were perhaps greatest of all. This is not to say that some investigators are not aware of these possible differences, but that there is still lacking any systematic attempt to trace these variations in detail; and especially in terms of *personal*, rather than of merely economic, or power, relationships. The more recent attention to part of this problem has been directed to illustrating the evolution of a historical process whose unfolding is preconceived and hence known in advance, so that the investigator tends to be insulated from new knowledge and new hypotheses.

[2] Cf. Charles Wagley 1960a:210. For recent changes in Brazil see, particularly, that illuminating essay, and also L. A. Costa Pinto (1958), Albert O. Hirshman (1963), Rollie E. Poppino (1963), and Irving Louis Horowitz (1964). For bibliographical references in this Introduction, see the appended "Supplementary Bibliography."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-